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TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY

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TAGS: PFOR, IN, UR

SUBJECT: FREEDOM HOUSE REPORT ON POLITICAL AND CIVIL
LIBERTIES

REF: NEW DELHI 17324

FOR KREISBERG

1. THERE ARE TWO SECTIONS IN REPORT WHICH DEAL WITH INDIA.
2. UNDER INTRODUCTORY SECTION TITLED "SURVEY OF COMPARATIVE FREEDOM V," SUBSECTION ON "COLONIALISM TODAY" INCLUDES TABLE OF MAJOR SUBORDINATE PEOPLES (GROUPS OF ROUGHLY ONE MILLION OR MORE LIVING IN AN IDENTIFIABLE AREA OR AREAS). OF FOURTEEN SUBORDINATE PEOPLES IDENTIFIED IN INDIA, EIGHT SCORE "HIGH" ON BOTH DIMENSIONS OF "CULTURAL SIMILARITY TO DOMINANT PEOPLE" AND "POLITICAL EQUALITY." KANARESE SCORE MEDIUM/HIGH; KASHMIRI MEDIUM/LOW; MALAYALAM MEDIUM/HIGH; SANTALI MEDIUM (?) /MEDIUM; TAMIL AND TELEGU MEDIUM/HIGH RESPECT-IVELY.
3. RELEVANT PARAGRAPHS FROM ABOVE SUBSECTION FOLLOW:
QUOTE: THE TABLE SUGGESTS THAT THE GREAT IMPERIAL STATES OF TODAY ARE THE USSR AND INDIA. (THE IMPERIALISM OF CHINA WAS CENTURIES AGO AND LARGELY SUCCESSFUL.) IN THE
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CASE OF INDIA THIS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO IMPLY THAT THE

TAMILS OR THE GUJERATIS SHOULD BE ALLOWED IMMEDIATELY TO BREAK OFF TO FORM INDEPENDENT STATES, ANY MORE THAN THE TABLE OF TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES MEANS THAT THE PUERTO RICANS SHOULD DETACH THEMSELVES FROM THE U.S. IT DOES MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT THE REGIONAL PEOPLES OF INDIA MAY FEEL THEMSELVES COLONIZED BY THE HINDUSTANI SPEAKING PEOPLES OF INDIA'S NORTHERN HEARTLAND.

4. THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION IS MUCH CLOSER TO CLASSIC COLONIALISM THAN THAT IN INDIA. THE POEPL E WHO PUT TOGETHER THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE STILL DOMINATE IT, WHILE INDIA WAS PUT TOGETHER AS A UNIT BY THE BRITISH. INDIA REPRESENTS AN AREA OF RECURRENT UNITY AND ANCIENT CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY, WHILE THE UNITY OF THE SOVIET UNION IS COMPARATIVELY RECENT AND EXTERNAL. IN ADDITION, BECAUSE OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST STATE AND PARTY THE AUTONOMY GRANTED TO ITS REGIONAL REPUBLICS IS MUCH LESS MEANINGFUL THAN THAT GRANTED INDIAN STATES. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE GENERAL POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN INDIA,SO THAT WHAT REGIONAL DISSATISFACTION EXISTS IS WIDELY KNOWN, AND THE PEOPLES ARE ABLE THROUGH PROTEST TO ACHIEVE MOST OF THEIR OBJECTIVES WITHIN THE INDIAN STATE. THE RESULT IS THAT WHILE SOME INDIAN PEOPLES MAY FEEL OPPRESSED IN A COLONIAL SENSE TODAY (NOTABLY THE MUSLIMS OF KASHMIR), OPPRESSION IN THE TRADITIONAL COLONIAL SENSE IS MUCH MORE LIKELY TO CHARACTERIZE THE USSR. FINALLY, WHILE THE USSR (AND EVEN MORE, CHINA) HAVE ATTEMPTED DELIBERATELY TO DILUTE SUBORDINATE PEOPLES BY POPULATION TRANSFERS AND GERRYMANDERING, AND THUS DIRECTLY THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF SOME SUBORDINATE PEOPLES, SUCH ACTIONS ARE QUITE UNCHARACTERISTIC OF INDIAN POLICY. UNQUOTE.

5. IN SECTION ON ASIA, FOLLOWING IS TWO-PARAGRAPH SUBSECTION ON INDIA. QUOTE: INDIA IS OFTEN HAILED AS THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY. TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT THIS IS TRUE, BUT INDIAN DEMOCRACY, ALWAYS BESET WITH MASSIVE PROBLEMS, SLIPPED BACKWARD IN 1974 WITH RESPECT TO TACKLING ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CRISES. CONSE-
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QUENTLY, A FAMILIAR SYNDROME WAS ACCELERATED: DISSIDENTS RESORTED TO A VARIETY OF EXTRAPARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDED WITH INCREASED SUPPRESSION, ON THE OTHER.

6. IN THIS, INDIA MIRRORED PROBLEMS GENERAL TO SOUTH ASIA, ONE OF THE MOST DESPERATE REGIONS OF THE WORLD. TOO OFTEN, DEMOCRACY IN THIS REGION HAS BETRAYED ITSELF.

POLITICIANS, CULTIVATING PUBLIC FAVOR, PROMISE VASTLY MORE THAN CAN BE DELIVERED. TO COVER THEMSELVES, VARIOUS

GIMMICKS AND SLOGANS ARE ADOPTED, THE CHIEF OF WHICH IS A "SOCIALISM" OPERATED BY A BUREAUCRACY BOTH INEFFICIENT AND CORRUPT. THUS, THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS STUNTED, THE PUBLIC SECTOR MISMANAGED, AND WHEN DISSIDENCE GROWS, THE BROADEST CHOICES ARE BETWEEN FUNDAMENTAL REFORM ON THE ONE HAND, AND SOME COMBINATION OF POLITICAL MANIPULATION AND INCREASED COERCION ON THE OTHER. UP TO DATE, THE OPTION HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY FOR THE LATTER COURSE -- AND IN SUCH COUNTRIES AS INDIA, BANGLADESH, AND SRI LANKA, THIS TREND CANNOT GO ON MUCH LONGER WITHOUT THE MOST DIRE CONSEQUENCES. UNQUOTE.

7. UNDERSTAND COPY OF REPORT HAS BEEN MAILED DIRECTLY TO AMBASSADOR, BUT WE ARE POUCHING YOU ANOTHER COPY TODAY. INGERSOLL

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